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*Śivarāma's Commentary on the Vāsavadattā.*—By Dr. LOUIS  
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IN any attempt to interpret Sanskrit *kāvya*, native commentaries are not only important, but almost indispensable. The question as to the accuracy of their information is, generally speaking, comparatively easy to decide. Their authors understand in the majority of cases the texts which they explain; they are acquainted with all the stylistic tricks which adorn the *kāvya*, and their interpretations may usually be accepted. Of the many Hindu glossators of value not the least important is Śivarāma Tripāṭhin, with whose *Kaṇcanadarpaṇa* on the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu this paper is concerned. In the preparation of my projected translation of the *Vāsavadattā* I have naturally studied the *Darpaṇa*, the only commentary accessible in printed form (in the editions of the *Vāsavadattā* by Hall, Calcutta, 1859, and by Vidyasagara, ib., 1874).

Commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā* are, however, numerous. Hall, in his edition of the novel (Introd., 45-47), mentions Narasiṃhasena and the *Tattvadīpinī* of Jagaddhara. In his judgment, neither of these is equal to Śivarāma. He thus characterizes Jagaddhara: "Jagaddhara, as compared with Śivarāma, though he oftener takes note of various readings, is more diffuse, is equally fanciful, and resorts less frequently to authority in justification of his comments. His errors are freely exposed by his successor [Śivarāma], and not invariably with unexceptional courtesy." He says of Narasiṃhasena's gloss that it "is of small value, and is busied very much more with pointing out the figures of rhetoric which Subandhu exemplifies, than with anything else." To this list of commentaries Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, i., 566, ii., 133-134, 224) adds the following: the *Sarvaṅkaṣa* of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, the

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<sup>1</sup> I have not found any mention of Jagaddhara in the *Darpaṇa*. These exposures of his blunders must therefore be by implication. See, however, Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i., 195.

*Cūrnikā* of Prabhākara, the *Tattvakāumudī* of Rāmadeva, the *Vyākhyāyika* of Vikramarddhi Kavi, glosses by Śrṅgāragupta, Sarvacandra, Timmaya Sūri, Sarvaraṣita, Siddhacandraganī, and Sūkṣmadarśin, and either one or two anonymous commentaries. Of these glossators, Timmaya Sūri lived about the beginning of the sixteenth century, if he was identical with the author of a commentary on Agastya's *Bālabhārata* (Aufrecht, i., 231), and Prabhākara was born in 1564 (ib., i. 353).

According to Hall (Introd., 44), Śivarāma composed besides the *Kaṇcanadarpaṇa* the *Bhūṣaṇa*, a commentary on Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (printed in Godebole and Parab's edition of this novel, Bombay, 1898, 218-244), the *Lakṣmīnivāsābhīdhāna*, a collection of *uṇādi* derivatives (edited in the *Ṣaṭkoṣa-saṁgraha*, Benares, 1874 ; see also Zachariae, *Indische Wörterbücher*, (*Koṣa*), 38, Aufrecht, i., 539), and the *Rasaratnahāra*, a treatise in 102 couplets, with his own commentary, entitled *Lakṣmīvihāra*, on poetic sentiments. To this list Aufrecht, i., 652, ii., 155, adds eighteen, including both commentaries and original works. The commentaries, in addition to those on the *Vāsavadattā* and the *Daśakumāracarita*, were on the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa, on the *Vināyakamāhātmya* (Aufrecht, i., 577), the *Vṛttakāustubha*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Viśamapadī* on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. His original works, besides the *Rasaratnahāra*, are the *Alaṅkārasamudgaka*, the *Kāvyalakṣmīprakāśa*, the *Nakṣatramālā* with his own commentary, entitled *Lakṣmīvilāsa*, "a grammatical poem. Printed in Kāvya-mālā, 1888" (Aufrecht, i., 274), the *Nṛpavilāsa*, "written for his brother, Keśavarāma" (ib., ii., 65), the *Bhūpālabhūṣaṇa*, "quoted in the Lakṣmīnivāsābhīdhāna" (ib., i., 415), the *Rahasyacandrikā*, the *Rāvaṇapuravādha*, in which a number of Śivarāma's other works are mentioned (ib., ii., 155), the *Vidyāvilāsa*, mentioned in the *Lakṣmīnivāsābhīdhāna* (ib., i., 575), the *Sūryādivarṣa-phalokti*, and five *stotras* in honor of Kṛṣṇa, the Ganges and the Jumna, Ganeśa, Śiva and Bhāirava, and Śiva and Rāma. His main creative interests therefore lay apparently in *kāvya*-poetry and in grammar, while as a commentator he seems to have devoted himself especially to *kāvya*-prose and to rhetoric.

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<sup>1</sup> This seems not to have been found. At least, Aufrecht does not mention it.

Of his life Śivarāma tells little. In his preface to the *Kaṇcanadarpana*, after an opening invocation to Śiva, he thus speaks of his ancestry (Hall, 1, ll. 11-18, omitted by Vidyasagara):

*trilokacandra ity āsīt khyāto lokesu candravat  
tanayo vinayopeto yavīyān asya dāivavit  
kṛṣṇarāmābhīdhaḥ sūriś caturbhis tanayāir yutaḥ  
rājate rājanītijñāḥ sāmādyāir iva bhūpatih  
yah pāthakānām kṛpayā 'ptavidyāḥ  
sa kārṣṇarāmih śivarāmanāmā  
govindarāmo 'tha mukundarāmo  
jātaḥ kramāt keśavarāmanāmā,*

'one Trilokacandra there was, famed among the worlds as is the moon. His younger son, with virtue filled, an astrologer, named Kṛṣṇarāma, a sage with four sons, knowing kingly conduct, shineth even as a lord of earth through conciliation and the rest.<sup>1</sup> The son of Kṛṣṇarāma, who gained knowledge by his teachers' compassion, was Śivarāma; then Govindarāma, Mukundarāma, and Keśavarāma, in order born.' The *Bhūṣaṇa* gives no additional information, except that Trilokacandra was a Śivite Brahman (ll. 5-6):

*māheśapādāmbujasaktacetā nareśasampūjitapādapadmah  
graheśatejā virajā mahāujās trilokacandro 'jani sa dvijāgryah,*

'with his thought devoted to the lotus-feet of the great lord [Śiva], honoring the lotus-feet of the lord of men [the king], with the glory of the lord of planets [the sun], brilliant, great in strength, Trilokacandra was born, foremost of twice-born.'

If we know little of Śivarāma's life, we can at least fix his date within narrow limits. In *Lakṣmīvilāsa* 9, he cites the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, which places him about the beginning of the eighteenth century (Aufrecht, i., 652), for Nāgojī or Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the author of this grammar, "was the Guru of Gaṅgārāma, the great-grandfather of Maṇirāma (1804)" (ib., 283).

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the four means of royal conquest. Cf. Manu, vii. 107: *tān ānayed vaśaṁ sarvān sāmādhīr upakramāiḥ.*

In his commentary Śivarāma quotes fifty-six authorities. By far the greater number of references is naturally lexicographical. In glossing the vocabulary of an author as artificial as Subandhu, bristling with *śleṣas*, *virodhas*, and all other adornments of *kāvya*, constant citations must be made from the lexicographers to support the meanings assigned by the commentator to the words which he discusses. On lexicography, grammar, meter, drama, and rhetoric thirty-three works and authors are quoted in the *Kaṇcanadarpaṇa*. Amara, the most important of all the lexicographers (cf. Zachariae, 18-20), is by all odds the most frequently cited authority, being quoted six hundred times.<sup>1</sup> Next comes the *Viśvaparakāśa* of Maheśvara Kavi (ib., 28-29), with 165 citations. Hemacandra (ib., 30-35) is quoted but thirty-four times; the *Hārāvalī* of Puruṣottamadeva (ib., 23-24), twenty-eight times; and the *Dharanīkośa* of Dharanidāsa (ib., 20), twenty-three times. Medinikara's *Medinīkośa* (ib., 35-36) is cited eleven times, and an *Ekākṣara-kośa*, probably that by Puruṣottamadeva (ib., 37-38, Aufrecht, i., 74, 342), ten times. The *Utpalīnī* of Utpala, apparently one of the older lexicographers (Zachariae, 7), is cited eight times; the *Anekārthasamuccaya* of Śāśvata (ib., 4-5, 24), seven times; and the *Uttaratantra*, "probably a part of a dictionary" (Aufrecht, i., 63), six times. As no manuscript of this *kośa* seems to be known, and as Śivarāma is the only author recorded by Aufrecht as quoting it, the fragments found in the *Darpaṇa* are of interest. They are the following:

p. 72 (quoted on p. 242-243 as from the *Hārāvalī*):

*makṣikā matsarā jñeyā bhramarālī ca sā matā;*

p. 73: *viśvakarmā devaśilpī viśvakarmā divākaraḥ;*

p. 129: *rasajñā rasanā jihvā;*

p. 142: *nandir ānandaḥ jāmātrmitrayor api ce 'śyate;*

p. 184: *ākhyāyikā pariccheda āśvāsocchvāsakāv api;*

p. 242: *coraḥ śaṅkīta-varṇaś ca kuṣumākṣaḥ prakīrtitaḥ.*

Another lexicographer, of whom no manuscript is yet discovered, but who is quoted by Śivarāma (and by a number of other glossators), is Rantideva (cf. Aufrecht, i., 492, Zachariae, 6), who is cited five times. Four quotations each are made from

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<sup>1</sup> Counting such references as *iti caturṣv amaraḥ*, p. 231, as four times, and so in all similar cases.

the *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī* of Mahākṣapaṇaka (Zachariae, 25), the *Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa (ib., 27), the *Ratnakōśa* (ib., 15, Aufrecht, i., 489), and the *Rudrakōśa* (Aufrecht, i., 528). Two citations each are made from Maheśvara's *Śabdabhedaprakāśa* (Zachariae, 24), Rabhasapāla (ib., 6, Aufrecht, i., 492-493), and Vyāḍi, one of the most ancient of all the lexicographers (Zachariae, 6-7, Aufrecht, i., 618). Only one quotation is found from the *Kōśasāra* (Aufrecht, i., 130; cf. Hall, *Introd.*, 45). This is the unique citation thus far known from this work, and runs thus (p. 153):

*arthe kṛte 'vyayaṁ tāvat tādarthye vartate dvayam.*

One citation each is made also from Puruṣottama's *Ūṣmabheda* (Aufrecht, i., 71), the *Śabdaratnākara* of Mahīpa, written in 1374 (ib., i., 444, Zachariae, 36; cf. Hall, *Introd.*, 45), the *Kavikalpadruma* of Vopadeva, a *dhātupāṭha* of the thirteenth century (Aufrecht, i., 86, 616), and the *Śakārabheda* (ib., i., 622).

In grammar but one author, *Kṣīrasvāmin*, who lived probably in the eleventh century (Zachariae, 21), is quoted, his *Nipātavyayopasarga* (Aufrecht, i., 134, 296) being once cited. In *alaṁkāra* literature six authors and works are quoted. The most numerous citations are from Śivarāma's own *Rasaratnabhāra*, from which he makes five quotations. Four citations each are made from Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (Jacob, JRAS., 1897, 308-309) and from the *Vāgbhattālaṁkāra* (ib., i., 559, Regnaud, *Rhétorique sanscrite*, 380, Jacob, 281-309). There are two quotations from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa*, and one each from the *Alaṁkāreśvara* and the *Kaṇthābharana* (probably the *Sarasvatikaṇthābharana*, [Aufrecht, i., 699, 78, Jacob, 299-306], hardly the *Nyāyatilāvatikaṇthābharana*, a commentary on the *Nyāyatilāvatī* [Aufrecht, i., 310]). Of the former work, the citation by Śivarāma, p. 4, defining the *sudharmitā-guṇa*, *yatra viśeṣanadvārā viśeṣyalābhaḥ sā sudharmitā*, is the only fragment known (ib., i., 32).<sup>1</sup>

Kedarabhṭṭa, the author of the *Vṛttaratnākara*, is once cited as an authority on meter, and Vāmana, a writer on poetics

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<sup>1</sup> Hall (*Introd.*, 45) says that the *Alaṁkāraśekhara* (Aufrecht, i., 32) and Bhānūdatta (ib., 405, Regnaud, 370-372) are quoted by Śivarāma. I have not found the citations.

(ib., i., 563, Jacob, 288-289), is quoted twice. From Bharata there are eight citations.

To explain the astronomical allusions, which are found in the *Vāsavadattā*, two quotations are made by Śivarāma from Varāhamihira (Thibaut, *Astronomie, Astrologie, and Mathematik*, 56-57, 65-66), and one each from Garga (ib., 28-29, 66) and the *Jyotiṣa* (ib., 28-29). If we may judge from the single fragment preserved from Udayaśaṅkhara Pāṭhaka, *kārtika-suddhadaśamīm ārabhya māghasuddhāṣṭamīparyantīm*, and cited by Śivarāma, p. 298 (Aufrecht, i., 65, Hall, *Introd.*, 45), he also seems to have written on astronomy. There are two references to Vasantarāja's *Śakunārṇava* (Aufrecht, i., 556, Hall, *Introd.*, 45), a work on omens, but, somewhat curiously, there seems to be but one citation from a philosophical author, Prabhākara Guru (Aufrecht, i., 155, 353).<sup>1</sup>

Of literary works and authors, sixteen are quoted. The most frequently cited is Kālidāsa, from whom twelve quotations are given (pp. 24 [twice], 26, 27, 30, 48, 66, 141 [twice], 151, 152, 153). Māgha is cited five times (pp. 51, 58, 78, 174, 175), the *Mahābhārata* twice (pp. 34, 273), and the *Harivaṁśa* once (p. 273.) Two citations each are given from Bhojarāja (pp. 53, 185), Manu (pp. 16, 23), and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (pp. 85, 149). Eight works and authors are mentioned once each. The *Kāmatantra*, which, though an erotic work, seems not to occur in Schmidt's catalogue in his *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, is known apparently only from a few citations (cf. Aufrecht, i., 92.) The one given by Śivarāma (p. 283) is as follows:

*cirotpannapravāśena prītir gacchet parābhavam  
rāgāyatanaśaṁsmāri yadi na syān nakhakṣatam.*

Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Damayantīkathā* (Hall, *Introd.*, 45) (p. 27), Nārada (probably the *Nārada-purāṇa*) (p. 49), Bhartṛhari (p. 154, also once anonymously), Bhavabhūti (p. 259), Bhāravi (p. 69), Harṣadeva (p. 154, also once anonymously), and the *Hitopadeśa* (p. 272, also once anonymously) likewise are each quoted once. The *Lohaśāstra*, which is known, apparently, only from the single passage quoted from it by Śivarāma (p. 198; see Aufrecht, i., 546), was probably a scientific work. The *śloka* in question is as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> It is possible, though not probable, that the Prabhākara here mentioned is the commentator on the *Vāsavadattā* mentioned above, p. 58.

*cumbako drāvakaś cāi 'vā 'karṣako bhrāmakas tathā  
ekadvitricatuḥpañcaśaṣṭmukhāḥ sambhavanti te,*

‘the magnet and the touchstone, the lodestone, and the pole-stone have one, two, three, four, five, or six faces.’

It is noteworthy that there is but one citation from Bāṇa (p. 9), which is the eleventh stanza of the poem introducing the *Harṣacarita*.

Hall (Introd., 45) correctly remarks that “Śivarāma, to a most unusual extent for a scholiast in Sanskrit, has recourse to the living language of the country, in explication of terms found in his original. His preference is, of course, for his mother-tongue, the Hindī: but, in a good number of instances, he also introduces words from the Marahāṭṭi and the Gujarātī.” These words, denoted in the commentary by *iti bhāṣyām*, or less frequently, by *iti khyātaḥ (loke)*, number fifty-two.

In the *Kaṇcanadarpaṇa*, sixty-nine anonymous quotations are made. The majority of these are of little importance, either as literature or as sources of information regarding Śivarāma. A number of them may easily be identified. Thus, several examples of rhetorical figures, as those on pp. 5, 6, 80, are taken from the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*; on p. 24 there is an anonymous citation from Bhartṛhari; on p. 33, one from the *Prasannarāghava*; on p. 145, one from the *Ratnāvalī*; and on p. 272, one from the *Hitopadeśa*. A number of metrical examples, as the *āryā* on p. 2, 164, and the *upajāti (upendravajrā)* on p. 10, are taken from the *Vṛttaratnākara*, and several specimens of poetic figures, as the definitions of the *sāttvikās* (p. 226) are cited from the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

In forming an estimate of the *Kaṇcanadarpaṇa* of Śivarāma, it may be said that the commentary is in general accurate and reliable. His appreciation of the *Vāsavadattā* was keen, and his explanations of the puns, allusions, and all the artificialities of Subandhu's work, are in the main correct. It is safe to affirm that without the *Darpaṇa* or some other good commentary the *Vāsavadattā* would be almost unintelligible to the Occidental reader. The cases in which Śivarāma is mistaken are so few as to be practically negligible. It is perhaps no exaggerated praise to say that he has written in his *Kaṇcanadarpaṇa* a model Sanskrit commentary.